

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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S E C R E T USNATO 4455

E.O. 11652: GDS 12/31/81  
TAGS: PFOR, NATO  
SUBJECT: SURVIVABILITY OF THE NATO HEADQUARTERS

REF: STATE 185487 NOTAL

BEGIN SUMMARY. THIS MESSAGE REPORTS RESULTS OF DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT IN MEETING OF COUNCIL OPERATIONS AND EXERCISE COMMITTEE SEPT. 19, AND RECOMMENDS REPORT (AC/237-D/123) GO FORWARD TO COUNCIL WITH STATEMENT OF US OPPOSING VIEW ATTACHED. REGARDING HARDENED SITE OPTION, IS SUGGESTS US CONSIDER APPROVING CONSTRUCTION OF PROTECTED ACCOMMODATIONS AT EVERE BUT PROVIDE NO FUNDS, LEAVING THAT TO OTHERS. MISSION RECOMMENDS ADHERENCE TO ORIGINAL POSITION. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON GUIDANCE BY OPENING OF BUSINESS SEPT 28. END SUMMARY.

1. AT MEETING OF COUNCIL OPERATIONS AND EXERCISE COMMITTEE SEPTEMBER 19, 1973, US WAS ISOLATED IN ITS OPPOSITION TO DRAFT REPORT TO COUNCIL (AC/237-D/123) ON ABOVE SUBJECT.  
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WITH A FEW MINOR AMENDMENTS, ALL ALLIES ACCEPTED PAPER AND RECOMMENDED THAT IT GO FORWARD TO THE COUNCIL. US RESERVED ON SUBMISSION OF REPORT TO COUNCIL.

2. MISSION PROPOSES TO ADVISE COEC CHAIRMAN MACBRIEN BY LETTER THAT THE UNITED STATES INTERPOSES NO OBJECTION TO SUBMISSION OF REPORT TO COUNCIL PROVIDED IT IS ACCOMPANIED BY A STATEMENT OF THE US POSITION. TEXT OF LETTER FOLLOWS:  
QUOTE: DEAR AIR MARSHAL MACBRIEN:

AT THE SEPTEMBER 19 MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OPERATIONS AND EXERCISE COMMITTEE, THE COMMITTEE CONSIDERED THE QUESTION OF SURVIVABILITY OF THE NATO HEADQUARTERS ON THE BASIS OF DOCUMENT AC/237-D/123. MY AUTHORITIES CANNOT AGREE TO THE REPORT AS WRITTEN; HOWEVER, THEY OF COURSE CAN AGREE TO ITS SUBMISSION TO THE COUNCIL PROVIDED IT IS ACCOMPANIED BY A STATEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES POSITION AS CONTAINED IN THE ENCLOSURE TO THIS LETTER.

SINCERELY,  
WILLIAM H. TUCKER, JR., COLONEL, US ARMY, UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE, COUNCIL OPERATIONS AND EXERCISE COMMITTEE.  
ENCLOSURE: UNITED STATES POSITION ON DOCUMENT AC/237-D/123, SURVIVABILITY OF THE NATO HEADQUARTERS

THE UNITED STATES AGREES IN PRINCIPLE THAT SOME METHOD SHOULD BE PROVIDED OF ENSURING THE CONTINUITY OF THE ESSENTIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL/DPC, ITS APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES, AND THE MILITARY COMMITTEE IN A PERIOD OF TENSION, CRISIS OR HOSTILITIES AND IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING A GENERAL NUCLEAR EXCHANGE. THIS WAS THE FUNDAMENTAL RECOMMENDATION TO WHICH THE COUNCIL AGREED IN C-M(71)76(2ND REVISE). IT SHOULD, ACCORDINGLY, FORM THE BASIS FOR THE COUNCIL'S SUBSEQUENT DECISIONS ON THIS MATTER.

PHYSICAL PROTECTION IS INDEED AN OPTION THAT WAS RECOGNIZED IN THE COUNCIL'S GUIDANCE. WITH RESPECT TO PHYSICAL PROTECTION, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT NOTES THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO FIND A SATISFACTORY EXISTING SITE IN ANOTHER LOCATION. FURTHER, A SITUATION NECESSITATING DEPARTURE FROM EVERE COULD IMPLY AN EQUALLY DIFFICULT SITUATION  
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IN MOST OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THEIR CAPITALS. HENCE, AN ALTERNATE SITE IN EUROPE LOCATED AWAY FROM EVERE CAN BE RULED OUT.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT EVERE ITSELF IS UNSATISFACTORY AS A LOCATION FOR A WAR HEADQUARTERS, OR AS A SITE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF LIMITED PROTECTIVE MEASURES. IN THE EVENT OF WAR, IT IS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT NATO HEADQUARTERS COULD BE SUBJECTED TO AIR ATTACK. COMPARED TO THE EXISTING HEAD-QUARTERS, A GREATER MILITARY EFFORT WOULD BE REQUIRED TO NEUTRALIZE A HARDENED HEADQUARTERS, OR ONE WITH LIMITED PROTECTIVE MEASURES, WITH INCREASED HAZARD TO THE SURROUNDING CIVILIAN POPULATION.

THE UNITED STATES NOTES THAT THE MILITARY COMMITTEE HAS RECOGNIZED THAT SURVIVABILITY OF COMMAND FUNCTIONS WILL, IN THE MAIN, BE ACHIEVED BY MEANS OTHER THAN EXTENSIVE PROTECTIVE CONSTRUCTION (MCM-44-66). THE UNITED STATES FURTHER NOTES THAT SACEUR'S STUDY, DISCUSSED ON PAGE 5 OF THE ENCLOSURE TO MCM-44-66, FOUND THAT NO NEW DEEP UNDERGROUND MAIN HEADQUARTERS SHOULD BE BUILT. THE UNITED STATES SHARES THESE VIEWS OF THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

IN SPECIFIC INSTANCES THE UNITED STATES HAS SUPPORTED CONSTRUCTION OF MILITARY WAR HEADQUARTERS, SUCH AS SHAPE AND IBERLANT, ON THE BASIS THAT RELOCATION OR RECONSTITUTION AT A GREAT DISTANCE IS UNACCEPTABLE. THIS REASONING DOES NOT NECESSARILY APPLY TO NATO HEADQUARTERS, HOWEVER.

FINALLY, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS CONVINCED THAT CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW HARDENED WAR HEADQUARTERS, OR LIMITED PROTECTIVE MEASURES, WOULD BE THE MOST EXPENSIVE SOLUTION OF ALL. THE RESOURCES REQUIRED FOR SUCH CONSTRUCTION COULD BE UTILIZED TO FAR BETTER POLITICAL AND MILITARY EFFECT IN IMPROVING THE ALLIANCE'S CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE CAPABILITIES. CONSEQUENTLY, THERE IS NO POINT IN SPENDING EVEN THE AMOUNT REQUIRED FOR A FEASIBILITY STUDY OF PROTECTED ACCOMMODATIONS.

FOR THESE REASONS, THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE VIEW THAT SHOULD THE COUNCIL/DPC IN PERMANENT SESSION BE UNABLE FOR ANY REASON TO CARRY OUT ITS FUNCTIONS, THE CHIEFS OF ALLIED  
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DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS IN THE CAPITAL OF A MEMBER COUNTRY TO BE DECIDED UPON (POSSIBLY WASHINGTON, D.C.), MEETING UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OR HIS DEPUTY, COULD APPROPRIATELY ASSUME THE ROLE, FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COUNCIL IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE IX OF THE TREATY. END QUOTE.

3. IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS, VINCENT (IS) TWICE ASKED IF US COULD TAKE POSITION IN COUNCIL NOT IN OPPOSITION TO PROVISION OF PROTECTED ACCOMMODATIONS AT EVERE, SIMPLY STATING THAT US HAD NO FUNDS AVAILABLE AND THAT IF OTHERS WISHED, PROJECT COULD PROCEED BUT WITHOUT US FUNDS. AS QUID, US WOULD OFFER TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR RELOCATION OR RECONSTITUTION OF COUNCIL, ESSENTIAL COMMITTEES AND STAFF IN WASHINGTON. AS RESULT, BOTH SOLUTIONS WOULD BE ADOPTED AND EVERYONE WOULD BE HAPPY. VINCENT ARGUED THAT IF US DUG IN ITS HEELS AND OPPOSED PROTECTED ACCOMMODATIONS IN PRINCIPLE, RESULT COULD BE ACRIMONIOUS, DIVISIVE DEBATE (PRESUMABLY CENTERING AROUND SUCH QUESTIONS AS: DOESN'T THE US THINK THE COUNCIL IS WORTH PROTECTING? DOES THE US ENVISAG

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